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Types of Appositive Relative Clauses in Polish*

Abstract

While there has been a lot of research on the differences between restrictive and appositive relative clauses as well as on different types of restrictive relatives, distinctions within the class of appositive relatives have not been studied to the same extent till relatively recently (see, for example, Cinque (2008), Citko (2008b), Del Gobbo (2003, 2007, 2010)). My main goal in this paper is to add to this growing body of research on appositive relatives, by first reviewing the distinctions that *have* been pointed out to exist within this class, focusing on the distinction between what Cinque (2008) refers to as integrated and non-integrated appositives, and, second, by applying Cinque's diagnostics to Polish, to show that Polish appositives are non-integrated. I then examine the structures Cinque assigns to the two types, pointing out some problems with assimilating non-integrated appositive relatives either to coordinate structures or to parentheticals in general. Drawing on recent views of labeling in syntax (Hornstein 2009 and Citko 2008c), I conclude by offering an alternative structure for non-integrated appositives relatives, on which the appositive CP starts out as an unlabeled DP adjunct, which forces it to move and adjoin to the root clause, thus deriving the main insight behind the so-called Main Clause Hypothesis for appositive relatives.

Keywords

appositive relative clauses, integrated appositives, non-integrated appositives, labels, coordination, parentheticals

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest poświęcony rodzajom zdań względnych nieokreślających (niedefiniujących) w języku polskim. W literaturze językoznawczej dużo uwagi poświęcono różnicom między zdaniami względnymi określającymi i nieokreślającymi, ale stosunkowo mniej rodzajom zdań względnych nieokreślonych (z wyjątkiem Cinque (2008), Citko (2008b), Del Gobbo (2003, 2007, 2010)). Głównym celem niniejszego artykułu jest po pierwsze, przedstawienie kryteriów, które Cinque zaproponował dla odróżnienia tak zwanych zintegrowanych i niezintegrowanych zdań względnych nieokreślających, a po drugie, poka-

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zanie, że polskie zdania względne nieokreślające są według tych kryteriów niezintegrowane. Artykuł omawia również struktury zaproponowane przez Cinque dla tych dwóch typów zdań i wskazuje na problemy wynikające z analizy zdań niezintegrowanych jako zdań złożonych współrzędnych lub też jako wyrażen wtrąconych. Opierając się na teoriach oznak w składni (Hornstein 2009, Citko 2008c), artykuł przedstawia nową analizę niezintegrowanych zdań względnych, w której wprowadzone są one do derywacji składniowej jako nieoznakowany dodatek do frazy modyfikowanej, co zmusza je do transformacji i dołączenia się do zdania nadrzędnego.

Słowa kluczowe

zдания względne nieokreślające, rodzaje zdań względnych, zdania złożone współrzędne, koordynacja, wyrażenia wtrącone

1. Integrated versus non-integrated appositive relatives (Cinque 2008)

Most existing research on relative clauses has focused on the differences between restrictive and appositive clauses (see the contributions in Alexiadou et al. (2000), Bianchi (2000, 2002a, b), Borsley (1992, 1997), Demirdache (1991), Emonds (1979), Fabb (1990), Jackendoff (1977), Safir (1986), Sells (1985), De Vries (2002), among many others), or on different types of restrictive clauses, discussed by Carlson (1977), Citko (2004), Grosu (2003), Grosu and Landman (1998), among others.¹ Based on data from Italian, Cinque (2008) proposes a distinction between two types of appositive relatives, which he dubs *integrated* and *non-integrated* appositive relatives, respectively, and points out that non-integrated appositive relatives (but not the integrated ones) tend to behave like appositives with respect to many diagnostics distinguishing restrictive from non-restrictive relatives. The two are exemplified in (1a-b), and in Italian they are distinguished by the use of different relative pronouns (*che* vs. *il quale*).²

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (1) a. Inviterò anche Giorgio, <i>che</i> /* <i>cui</i> abita lì vicino. | [integrated ARC] |
| I will invite also Giorgio that/who lives nearby | |
| 'I will invite Giorgio, who lives nearby.' | (Cinque 2008: 100) |
| b. Inviterò anche Giorgio, <i>il quale</i> abita lì vicino. | [non-integrated ARC] |
| I will invite also Giorgio who lives nearby | |
| 'I will invite Giorgio, who lives nearby.' | (Cinque 2008: 101) |

¹ See Chapter 2 of De Vries's dissertation for a comprehensive overview of the differences between restrictive and appositive relatives, and Citko (2008b) for a discussion of these differences in Polish relative clauses.

² The abbreviations used here are: ARC – appositive relative clause, RRC – restrictive relative clause, COMP – complementizer, CP – complementizer phrase, AP – adjective phrase, VP – verb phrase, PP – prepositional phrase, DP – determiner phrase, NumP – number phrase, D – determiner, PART – particle, IMP – imperative, NOM – nominative, GEN – genitive, ACC – accusative, REFL – reflexive.

Cinque (2008) further shows that the two types of relatives differ with respect to a number of syntactic diagnostics, summarized in (2).

(2)

	Integrated Appositives	Non-Integrated Appositives
Compatibility with complementizers	√ (with subjects and objects)	*
Heavy pied-piping	*	√
Mismatches in illocutionary force	*	√
Non-adjacency to the head	*	√
Split antecedents	*	√
Internal heads	*	√
Lack of identity between the internal and the external head	NA	√
Non-nominal heads	*	√
Parasitic gaps	√	*
Temporal DP heads	√	*
Coordination of the relative wh-pronoun with another DP	*	√

I will not reproduce the data to illustrate the differences between *cui* and *il quale* relatives in Italian, and refer the interested reader to Cinque's paper instead.³ What matters for our purposes is that the diagnostics established by Cinque have opened a new venue for crosslinguistic research, by raising the question of what kinds of appositives a given language has, and suggesting that languages that have been claimed to lack appositives altogether might only lack appositives of a certain kind. Cinque further concludes that English appositive relatives are non-integrated. The examples that illustrate it are given in (3a-k); (3a) shows that appositive relatives do not allow the complementizer *that*, (3b) that the relative wh-pronoun allows heavy pied-piping, (3c) that the matrix clause and the relative clause can differ in illocutionary force, (3d) that the relative CP does not have to be adjacent to the head it modifies, (3e) that the relative pronoun can have split antecedents, and (3f) that the relative op-

³ Interestingly, integrated appositives seem to share some of the properties with restrictive relatives, such as the fact that they allow complementizers, do not engage in heavy pied-piping, can license parasitic gaps, and are incompatible with non-nominal antecedents. This suggests that they fall somewhere in the middle on the continuum of relative clauses, with restrictive relatives occupying one end of the spectrum and non-integrated appositives occupying the other end.

erator allows an internal head.⁴ The next set of examples (3g–j) illustrates that the head does not have to be nominal. And (3k) shows that parasitic gaps are not allowed.

- (3) a. John, who/*that/* \emptyset got the offer, will probably refuse.
 b. That woman, [_{IP} compared to whom] Attila the Hun was an angel, is unfortunately my husband's favorite aunt. (Nanni and Stillings 1978: 311)
 c. I want to talk to that man, who the hell is he anyway? (Andrews 1975: 28)
 d. Only the flower is used, which is not poisonous and is attached to the plant with a very fine stem. (Huddleston, Pullum and Peterson 2002: 1066)
 e. Kim likes muffins_i, but Sandy prefers scones_j, which_{i+j} they eat with jam. (Arnold 2007: 274)
 f. Mark belongs to the Knights of Columbus, which organization has been condemned by the Jewish Defense League. (McCawley 1982: 118)
 g. Sheila was beautiful, which was too bad. (CP) (Ross 1969: 357)
 h. She was fond of her boy, which Theobald never was. (AP) (Jespersen 1949: 124)
 i. Joe debated in high school, which Chuck did too. (VP) (Thompson 1971: 84)
 j. Peter put it under the table, where I had put it earlier. (PP) (Fabb 1990: 60)
 k. *John is a man who Bill, who knows, admires. (Safir 1986: 673)

2. Polish appositives as non-integrated appositives

This section shows that according to the same diagnostics, Polish appositive relatives are also non-integrated. First, they do not allow the relative complementizer *co*. Only restrictive relatives in Polish allow this complementizer, as shown by the following contrast (see Fisiak et al. (1978), Citko (2008b), Bondaruk (1995), Szczegielniak (2004, 2005) for relevant discussion):

- (4) a. *Ta powieść Tolstoja, co/która została opublikowana w 1869 roku,* [RRC]
 this novel Tolstoy COMP/which.NOM was published in 1869 year
przyniosła mu dużo sławy.
 brought him much fame
 'The novel by Tolstoy that was published in 1869 brought him a lot of fame.'
 b. *Wojna i Pokój, która/*co jest jedną z najbardziej* [ARC]
 War and Peace, which.NOM/COMP is one from most
znanych powieści Tolstoja, została opublikowana w 1869 roku.
 well-known novels Tolstoy.GEN was published in 1869 year
 'War and Peace, which is one of the most well-known novels by Tolstoy, was published in 1869.'

⁴ All of the examples in (3) are from Cinque's (2008) paper, and the citations are to the works he cites.

Second, they allow heavy pied-piping:⁵

- (5) Zaprosiliśmy naszego byłego prezydenta, *popularność wykładów którego*
 invited our former president popularity.GEN lectures.GEN who.GEN
 była imponująca.
 was impressive.
 'We invited our former president, the popularity of whose lectures was quite impressive.'

Third, the illocutionary force of the relative clause can be different from the illocutionary force of the matrix clause; in (6a), for example, the matrix clause is declarative and the relative clause imperative, and in (6b), provided by one of the reviewers, the ordering is reversed.⁶

- (6) a. To jest nowy prezydent, dla którego natychmiast znajdź miejsce!
 this is new president for whom immediately find.IMP place
 'This is the new president, for whom find a place immediately.'
 b. Znajdź miejsce dla tego człowieka/Piotra, który jest nowym prezydentem.
 find.IMP place for this person/Piotr, who is new president
 'Find a place for this man/Piotr, who is the new president.'

Fourth, the head does not have to be adjacent to the relative clause modifying it:⁷

- (7) Odkąd Kowalscy wyjechali, *których nikt nie zaprosił*, mamy święty spokój.
 since Kowalskis left who nobody not invited have holy peace
 'Since the Kowalskis left, who no one invited, all is quiet.'

⁵ One of the reviewers finds this sentence 'at best marginal'. Interestingly, the other reviewer points out that this example 'could show an even deeper embedding of the wh-phrase', as in the following example:

- (i) Zaprosiliśmy naszego byłego prezydenta,
 invited our former president
 popularność wykładów którego córki była imponująca.
 popularity lectures.GEN who.GEN daughter.GEN was impressive
 'We invited our former president, the popularity of whose daughter's lectures was quite impressive.'

⁶ The same reviewer also points out that the pattern in (6b) is the more common one.

⁷ One of the reviewers raises the question of whether this is a useful test, given that extraposition does not seem to distinguish restrictive from appositive relatives; the examples in (i-ii) show that restrictive relatives can also be extraposed:

- (i) A man came into the bar who we knew in school.
 (ii) I saw a man on Monday who looked like Chomsky.

Fifth, Polish appositives allow split antecedents, as shown in (8), modeled on Arnold's (2007) English example.

- (8) Jan lubi *pączki*_P, a Maria woli *rogaliki*_P które_{i+j} jedzą z masłem.
 Jan likes doughnuts and Maria prefers croissants which eat with butter
 'Jan likes doughnuts but Maria prefers croissants, which they eat with butter.'

Sixth, they allow internal heads. In (9), the internal head is the noun *organizacja* 'organization':

- (9) Jan należy do Ligi Polskich Rodzin, która to *organizacja*
 Jan belongs to League Families Polish which PART organization
 jest skrajnie prawicowa.
 is extremely right-wing
 'Jan belongs to the League of Polish Families, which organization is extremely right wing.'

They also allow non-nominal heads:

- (10) a. Spotkaliśmy się [_{PP} pod kinem], *co*/**które*
 met REFL under cinema what.NOM/which.NOM
 było wygodnym miejscem.
 was convenient place
 'We met in front of the cinema, which was a convenient place (to meet).'
- b. Piotr [_{VP} posprzątał po sobie], *czego*/**którego* Jan nie zrobił.
 Piotr cleaned after himself what.GEN/which.GEN Jan not did
 'Piotr cleaned up after himself, which Jan didn't do.'
- c. [_{IP} Maria została naszą nową szefową], *czego*/**którego*
 Maria became our new boss what.GEN /which.GEN
 wszyscy się spodziewali.
 all REFL expected
 'Maria became our new boss, which everyone expected.'

The examples in (10a-c), in addition to showing that Polish appositives allow non-nominal heads, show that appositive relatives with non-nominal heads use different relative pronouns than appositives with nominal heads; *co* 'what' versus *który* 'which'.⁸ The pronoun *co* 'what' used in appositives with non-nominal heads is homophonous with the relative complementizer we saw in restrictive relatives of the kind given in (4a) above. The evidence that it functions here as a relative pronoun, not a complementizer, is twofold. First, it is case-marked, and its case reflects the case of the relative gap; nominative in (10a), genitive of negation in (10b) and lexical genitive in (10c). Second, it can pied-pipe prepositions:

⁸ I also discussed this difference in Citko (2008a) and (2008b) and showed that Polish is by no means unique in this respect (see Citko 2008b for examples from other Slavic languages).

- (11) Jan boi się wysokości, z czego nie jest bardzo dumny.
 Jan fears REFL heights from which.GEN not is very proud
 'Jan is afraid of heights, which he is not very proud of.'

By contrast, the complementizer *co* used in restrictive relatives is not marked for case, which, instead, shows up on the resumptive pronoun (such as *jej* 'her' in (12b)):

- (12) a. *To jest ta gazeta, czego nikt nie czyta.
 this is this newspaper what.GEN nobody not reads
 'This is the newspaper that nobody reads.'
 b. To jest ta gazeta, co jej nikt nie czyta.
 this is this newspaper COMP it.GEN nobody not reads
 'This is the newspaper that nobody reads.'

Second, the complementizer *co* cannot pied-pipe prepositions, only relative pronouns (such as *co* 'what' in (11) above or *który* 'which' in (13b) below) can do that:

- (13) a. *To jest książka, z co dużo się nauczyliśmy.
 this is book from COMP much REFL learned
 'This is the book we learned a lot from.'
 b. To jest książka, z której dużo się nauczyliśmy.
 this is book from which much REFL learned
 'This is the book that we learned a lot from.'

The difference in relative pronoun selection between nominal and non-nominal appositives can also disambiguate potentially ambiguous relatives. As discussed by Arnold and Borsley (2008), the English appositive in (14b), given as a response to the question in (14a), is ambiguous; it can be paraphrased as either 'I got a pullover and the act of getting the pullover was nice' or 'I got a pullover and the pullover was nice'. The ambiguity lies in whether the relativized constituent is the DP 'a pullover' or the clause (with a fair amount of ellipsis in it) 'I got a pullover.'

- (14) a. What did you get for Christmas?

b. A pullover, which was nice.

(Arnold and Borsley 2008: 4)

In Polish, however, the equivalent of (14b) is disambiguated by the use of the relative pronoun; (15a), with the relative pronoun *który* 'which', can only be interpreted as a nominal appositive, whereas (15b), with the relative *co* 'what' instead, can only be a clausal one.⁹

⁹ English can also disambiguate such relatives, but it does so by other means. For example, with plural heads singular agreement on the verb yields a clausal interpretation, and plural agreement a nominal one.

(i) Socks, which was nice.

(ii) Socks, which were nice.

(Arnold and Borsley 2008: 4)

- (15) a. Sweter, *który* był bardzo przyjemny.
 sweater which was very nice
 'A sweater, which was very nice.' (= the sweater was very nice)
 b. Sweter, *co* było bardzo przyjemne.
 sweater what was very nice
 'A sweater, which was very nice.' (= getting the sweater was very nice)

The remaining diagnostics established by Cinque involve parasitic gap licensing, compatibility with temporal heads and the ability for the *wh*-pronoun to be coordinated with a regular (*i.e.* non-relative) noun phrase. And according to these diagnostics, Polish appositives also behave in a non-integrated fashion. First, they do not license parasitic gaps, as shown in (16a), to be contrasted with the grammatical parasitic gap inside the restrictive relative in (16b).^{10, 11}

- (16) a. *Jan to człowiek, którego Piotr, *który* zna *e*, podziwia *t*. [ARC]
 Jan is man who.ACC Piotr who.ACC knows admires
 'Jan is a man that Piotr, who knows him, admires him.'
 b. Jan to człowiek, którego *każdy*, *kto* zna *e* podziwia
 Jan is man who.ACC everyone who.NOM knows admires *t*.
 'Jan is a man who everyone that knows admires.'

Second, they are degraded with temporal heads:¹²

- (17) ?*W zeszłym roku, w którym Jan się urodził, było bardzo ciepło.
 in last year in which Jan REFL was born was very warm
 'Last year, when Jan was born, was very warm.'

And third, they allow coordination of the relative pronoun with a non-relative noun phrase:

- (18) Przypomniało mi się imię *mojego sąsiada*, pomiędzy
 remembered me REFL name.NOM my.GEN neighbor.GEN between
którego kotem a moim psem było dużo nieporozumień.
 whose.INSTR cat.INSTR and my.INSTR dog.INSTR was plenty misunderstandings
 'I remembered the name of my neighbor, between whose cat and my dog there was a lot of misunderstandings.'

The straightforward conclusion that emerges from the Polish data discussed in this section is that according to Cinque's criteria, Polish patterns

¹⁰ The existence of parasitic gaps in Polish (and Slavic languages in general) is not uncontroversial (see Franks (1995) and Bondaruk (2003) for relevant discussion).

¹¹ The relevant relative clauses in (16a-b) are the ones in italics.

¹² A corresponding restrictive relative is well-formed:

- (i) W tym roku, w którym Jan się urodził, było bardzo ciepło.
 in this year in which Jan REFL was born was very warm
 'The year that Jan was born in was very warm.'

with English in that its appositive relative clauses are non-integrated, and differs from Italian, which allows both integrated and non-integrated appositives. However, Cinque's distinction between the two types raises more general questions: (i) what is the structure of integrated and non-integrated appositives?; (ii) why would a language allow only one type? In the remainder of the paper, I tackle these two questions. I begin by reviewing existing approaches to appositive relatives in general, which do not all address these questions, as they tend to focus on capturing the differences between appositive and restrictive relatives. I then give a brief summary of Cinque's answers, followed by a discussion of some of the issues that his structure for non-integrated relatives raises.

3. Towards a structural account

3.1. Previous Accounts

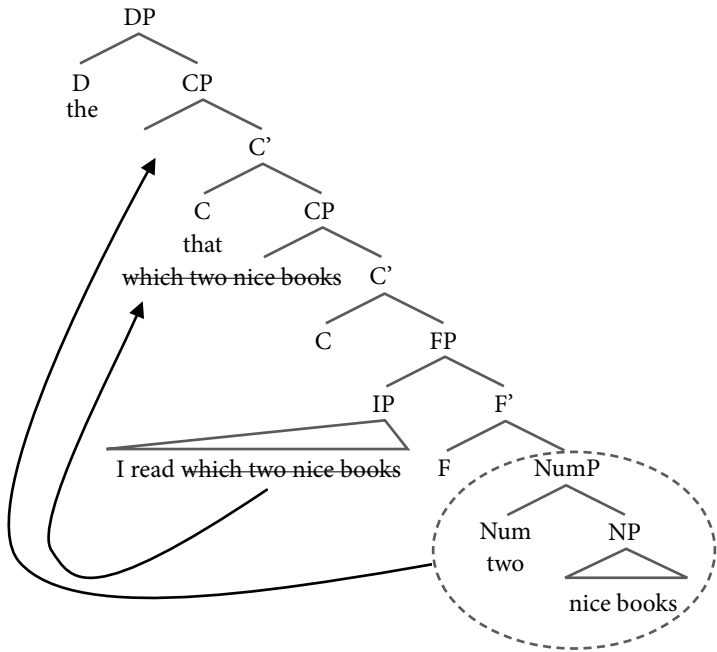
Most previous accounts focus on the distinction between restrictive and appositive relatives rather than capturing the contrast between the two types of appositive relatives under consideration here. They pattern into two groups, which differ in whether the relative clause is integrated into the main clause and treated as a run-of-the-mill subordinate clause, or not integrated in the syntax proper and treated as an independent clause.¹³ Emonds (1979) refers to the two approaches as the Main Clause Hypothesis (MCH) versus the Subordinate Clause Hypothesis (SCH). On the SCH, the difference between restrictive and appositive relatives typically reduces to the relative height of the relative CP clause. By contrast, on the Main Clause Hypothesis, appositive relatives are treated as independent clauses, and either integrated into the structure very late (or not at all). This view was argued for by Ross (1967), Emonds (1979), McCawley (1982), Fabb (1990), Safir (1986), among others, and against by Arnold (2007), Jackendoff (1977) and Potts (2002a, b), among others. In Emonds's account, for example, appositives are adjoined to the root clause, an insight I will maintain for non-integrated appositives. Furthermore, I will derive this insight from independent structure-building and labeling considerations. Since both the SCH and the MCH approaches outlined here focus on capturing the differences between restrictive and appositive relatives, I will not dwell on them, and, instead, turn to Cinque's (2008) approach, which *does* take this contrast into account.

Cinque's account, couched in antisymmetric terms, assumes different structural positions for restrictive and appositive CPs. The structures in (19b)

¹³ The list of existing approaches given here is not meant to be exhaustive (see, for example, Chapter 6 of De Vries (2002) or Chapter 6 of Griffiths (2015) for more detailed overviews of existing approaches to the syntax of appositive relatives).

and (20b), adapted from Cinque (2008), are different from some of their predecessors in that the relative clause (which for him is an IP rather than a CP) starts out as a specifier of a functional head above the relative head in both restrictive and appositive relatives. The differences between the two types lie in how high this specifier is; below DP in restrictive relatives, and above DP in integrated appositives, as shown in (19b) and (20b), respectively.^{14, 15} Furthermore, in integrated appositives, the head is a DP, whereas in restrictive ones it is a NumP (and the determiner is merged higher in the structure).¹⁶ Both involve a number of movements and more than one (DP internal) C head. After the lowest C is merged, the internal head (*which two nice books* in (19b) or *which ten kittens* in (20b)) moves to its specifier. The relative complementizer is merged next and the external head (*two nice books* in (19b) or *those ten nice kittens* in (20b)) moves to its specifier.

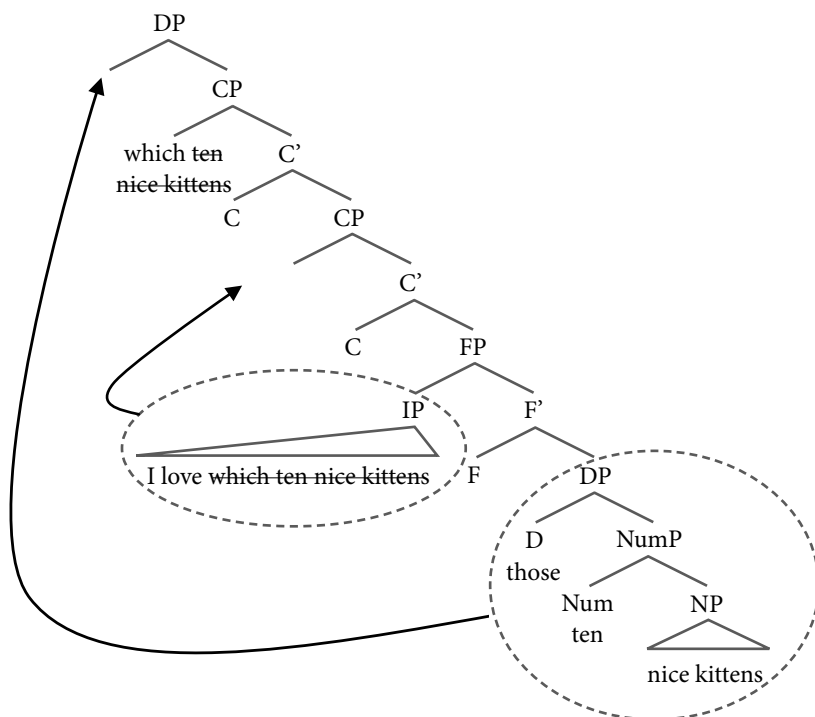
(19) a. the two nice books that I read [RRC]
b.



¹⁴ The structure in (20b) is somewhat of a simplification; it uses English words even though according to Cinque’s diagnostics, English appositive relatives are non-integrated.
¹⁵ I only give simplified representations of Cinque’s structures (and derivations), as nothing in what follows hinges on adopting them in all the details.
¹⁶ The FP stands simply for a functional projection.

- (20) a. those ten nice kittens, which I love,
b.

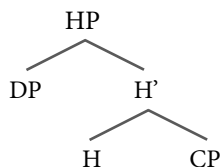
[Integrated ARC]



For non-integrated appositive relatives, Cinque proposes the structure given in (21), in which the relationship between the head and the relative clause is mediated by a functional head, which for him is the same head that mediates the relationship between two sentences in a discourse. In this respect, his structure could be thought of as a variant of the Main Clause Hypothesis alluded to above.

- (21)

[Non-integrated ARC]



As Cinque himself notes, this structure is very similar to De Vries's (2006) structure, in which H is a type of conjunction, the details of which I discuss in the next section, where I show that some of the arguments I levied against De Vries's structure for appositives in general in Citko (2008a) also apply to the structure in (21).

The more general question that the existence of two types of appositives with two different structures raises is whether (and if so, how) the difference

in structure might explain why a language might lack either kind. If the functional projection mediating the relationship between the head and the relative CP is the same kind of projection that mediates the relationship between two sentences in a discourse, it would be hard to appeal to the unavailability of the structure in (21) to explain the lack of non-integrated appositives in a language. As shown by Del Gobbo (2010), however, Chinese is such a language; it allows appositives but only of the integrated kind, illustrated in (22).

- (22) Xianglai jiu bu ai du shu de Xiaoming xianzai
 always then not love study book MOD Xiaoming now
 ye kaishi du qi shu lai le.
 also begin study begin book come ASP
 Lit.: 'Xiaoming who does not love to study now also has begun to study.'
 (Del Gobbo 2010: 403, adapting the example from Lin 2003)

Del Gobbo (2010) also departs from Cinque in that she assigns the same structure to integrated and non-integrated appositives, and argues that what distinguishes the two types is the fact that in non-integrated appositives the relative pronoun is an E-type pronoun and the relative CP moves and attaches to the matrix clause at LF (as proposed by Demirdache 1991, Kayne 1994, among others, for appositives in general).¹⁷ In Del Gobbo's analysis, a language will lack non-integrated relatives if its relative pronouns cannot function as E-type pronouns, an idea I will maintain.

3.2. Against a coordinate-style account of non-integrated appositional relatives

In this section, I turn to a more detailed discussion of the structure suggested by Cinque for non-integrated appositives, given in (21) above. De Vries (2006), building on his previous work, argues quite extensively for a variant of this structure for all appositional relatives. For him, the H head in (21) is a kind of conjunction, which he dubs a 'specifying conjunction', marked as &: in the diagrams that follow. The result is a coordinate structure in which the relationship between the head and the appositive CP is mediated by this specifying conjunction, which sometimes can be realized overtly, as in (23).

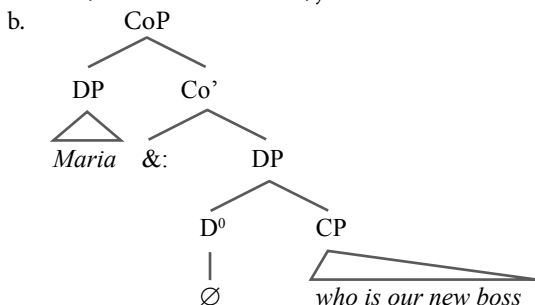
- (23) the White House, *or* the house with the Oval Office (De Vries 2006: 238)

In De Vries's account, the second conjunct in this coordinate structure is a 'false free relative,' *i.e.* a free relative clause headed by a null pronominal head.

¹⁷ See also Cinque (1982) for a different treatment of relative pronouns in restrictive and appositional relatives.

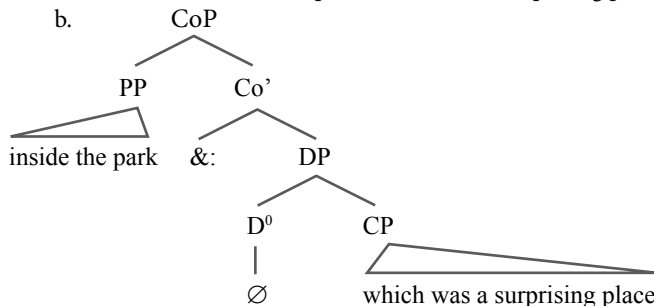
The structure is given in (24b), where both the D head and the conjunction head are null.^{18, 19}

(24) a. *Maria, who is our new boss, just walked in.*



As I showed in Citko 2008a, one of the issues such a structure faces concerns the Law of the Coordination of Likes. While this might not be immediately obvious in (23) or (24a), where the head is nominal, in relative clauses with non-nominal antecedents, coordination would have to involve two constituents of different categories, such as a PP and a DP in (25) below.²⁰

(25) a. *We saw John inside the park, which was a surprising place.*



As pointed out by one of the reviewers, this might not be a fatal blow, given that examples involving coordination of unlike categories, while not the norm, are possible under certain fairly restricted circumstances (see Prażmowska (2015) for a recent discussion of the exceptions in Polish and English and a more

¹⁸ De Vries (2006: 244), however, shows that they do not have to be null, as evidenced by the grammatical status of (i).

(i) *Annie, or she who is our manager*

¹⁹ See Rebuschi (2005) for similar ideas. For Rebuschi, the conjunction head also mediates the relationship between the noun and other modifiers, including restrictive relatives, AP and PP modifiers.

²⁰ De Vries's solution is to assume that non-nominal appositives can involve unbalanced coordination, in which the two conjuncts are not of the same category.

nuanced formulation of the Law of the Coordination of Likes).²¹ However, in standard coordinate structures unbalanced coordination is fairly restricted, whereas in appositive relatives it is not. In Citko (2008a), I also provided arguments based on case, constituency, extraction and typological considerations against De Vries's style coordinate-like approach. The two I reproduce here involve case and movement constraints. Example (26a) shows that the two conjuncts have to have the same case. If the appositive head and the relative clause in (26b) were also two conjuncts in a coordinate structure, we would expect the same case matching pattern. What we find is the exact opposite.

- (26) a. Spotkałam Jana i mojego przyjaciela/*mój przyjaciel.
 meet.2SG Jan.ACC and my.ACC friend.ACC/my.NOM friend.NOM
 'I met Jan and my friend.'
 b. Spotkałam Jana, który/ *którego był moim przyjacielem.
 meet.2SG Jan.ACC who.NOM/ who.ACC was my.INSTR friend.INSTR
 'I met Jan, who was my friend.'

The following facts involving extraction, due to Fabb (1990), also provide an argument against the coordinate-style account. If the appositive head and the relative CP were two conjuncts, we would expect (27b) to be ungrammatical as a violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, and (27c) to be fine, since the entire coordinate structure is moved.

- (27) a. We taught the boys, some of whom were deaf, French.
 b. Who did we teach [e], some of whom were deaf, French?
 c. *Who, some of whom were deaf, did we teach [e] French?

(Fabb 1990: 70)

While a full consideration of the arguments against the coordinate-style account would take us too far off course here, I maintain the conclusion that the relationship between the head and the relative CP in appositive relatives is *not* mediated by a specifying conjunction.

3.3. Against appositive relatives as parentheticals?²²

An alternative is to assimilate non-integrated appositive relatives to parentheticals. This is implicit in Cinque's discussion of non-integrated appositives, as well as in other accounts that fall under the general rubric of the Main Clause Hypothesis; Emonds (1979) explicitly argues for the same mechanism deriving parentheticals and appositives. However, in the absence of a well-established theory of parentheticals, it is not totally clear what this direction of

²¹ I thank the same reviewer for bringing Prazmowska's work to my attention.

²² The arguments in this section draw on the discussion in Citko (2008b).

assimilation would mean, structurally speaking.²³ In its strongest form, we could take it to mean that appositive relatives simply *are* parentheticals, and that there should be no differences whatsoever between appositives and (other types of) parentheticals. This, however, runs counter to the evidence discussed by Potts (2002a, b), Ross (1984), Arnold (2007) and Arnold and Borsley (2008), which suggests that appositive relatives *are* in fact different from (other types of) parentheticals.²⁴ Potts contrasts *which*-appositives (such as the one in (28a)) with *as*-parentheticals (such as the one in (28b)), and in Citko (2008b), I show that many the differences discussed by Potts (2002a, b) for English show up in Polish as well. In the rest of the section, I review the differences discussed in these works.²⁵

- (28) a. Mary is smart, *which* everyone knows.
 b. Mary is smart, *as* everyone knows.

In Polish, *which*-appositives use the *wh*-word *co* ‘what’, whereas *as*-parentheticals use the complementizer *jak* ‘how’, as shown below.

- (29) a. Maria jest mądra, *co* wszyscy wiedzą.
 Maria is smart what all know
 ‘Maria is smart, which everyone knows.’
 b. Maria jest mądra, *jak* wszyscy wiedzą.
 Maria is smart as all knows
 ‘Maria is smart, as everyone knows.’

The evidence that *co* in (29a) is a *wh*-pronoun and *jak* in (29b) is a complementizer (even though both can function as either *wh*-pronouns or complementizers) comes from the fact that *co*-appositives allow long distance constricts (as shown in (30a)), whereas *jak*-parentheticals do not, (as shown in (30b)). In (30a), the relative pronoun is extracted from the embedded clause ‘that (she) expected’. This is impossible in (30b), which involves a *jak*-parenthetical; this example can only have the somewhat odd interpretation that Maria’s winning the contest is somehow due to everyone knowing that she was expecting something unspecified.

²³ The structure in Griffiths and De Vries (2013), for example, is a variant of the coordinate-style analysis discussed in the previous section. For them, however, the projection mediating the relationship between the head and the appositive CP (and appositions and parentheses in general) is the parenthetical head (Par head) rather than the specifying conjunction head.

²⁴ See also Schlenker (2015) for a general, handbook-style overview of semantics and pragmatics of appositives, including the differences between appositive relative clauses and parentheticals.

²⁵ Arnold (2007) uses the differences between appositive relative clauses and parentheticals to argue against non-integrated approaches in general.

- (30) a. Maria wygrała konkurs, *czego* wszyscy wiedzieli, że się spodziewała.
 Maria won contest what.GEN all knew that REFL expected
 'Maria won the contest, which everyone knew she expected.'
- b. Maria wygrała konkurs, *jak* wszyscy wiedzieli, że się spodziewała.
 Maria won contest as all knew that REFL expected
 'Maria won the contest, as everyone knew that she expected.'

Another difference concerns the fact that *jak*-parentheticals show negative island effects, whereas *co*-appositives do not:

- (31) a. Maria wygrała konkurs, *czego* się *nie* spodziewała.
 Maria won contest what.GEN REFL not expected
 'Maria won the contest, which she did not expect.'
- b. *Maria wygrała konkurs, *jak* się *nie* spodziewała.
 Maria won contest as REFL not expected
 'Maria won the contest, as she didn't expect.'

Furthermore, if the main clause contains negation, *jak*-parentheticals exhibit an interesting ambiguity. Example (32a) can either mean that Maria expected that she would win the contest or that she expected that she wouldn't win the context. By contrast, the *co*-appositive in (32b) allows only the latter (negated) reading.

- (32) a. Maria nie wygrała konkursu, *jak* się spodziewała.
 Maria not won contest as REFL expected
 'Maria didn't win the contest, as she expected.'
- ambiguous:* *Maria expected she would win the contest.*
 Maria expected she wouldn't win the contest.
- b. Maria nie wygrała konkursu, *czego* się spodziewała.
 Maria not won contest what.GEN REFL expected
 'Maria didn't win the contest, which she expected.'
- unambiguous:* *Maria expected she wouldn't win the contest.*

Another difference, also discussed by Arnold (2007) for English, concerns the position of the two clauses. The contrast between the examples in (33a) and (33b), modeled on Arnold's (2007: 283) English examples, shows that the two differ in distribution; *jak*-parentheticals can appear in clause initial positions, whereas *co*-appositives cannot:²⁶

- (33) a. *Jak* wszyscy wiedzą, świat jest okrągły.
 as all know world is round
 'As everyone knows, the world is round.'

²⁶ Arnold (2007) also discusses a number of parallels between restrictive and non-restrictive relatives.

- b. **Co wszyscy wiedzą, świat jest okrągły.*
 what all know world is round
 ‘*Which everyone knows, the world is round.’

So far we have seen the evidence that appositive relatives are different from parentheticals. There is also evidence, discussed by Stowell (2006), that not all parenthetical relatives are appositive, which provides further evidence against assimilating the two. In the following two examples, it is clear that the relative clause is restrictive in spite of being parenthetical.

- (34) a. All the students (that I have managed to speak to, at least) support the president.
 b. None of the faculty (that I know of, anyway) have said they will attend.
 (Stowell's (2006) (6a) and (6b))

Thus, irrespective of the details of the structure one assumes for both appositives and parentheticals, the data discussed in this section shows that appositive relatives are different from parentheticals.

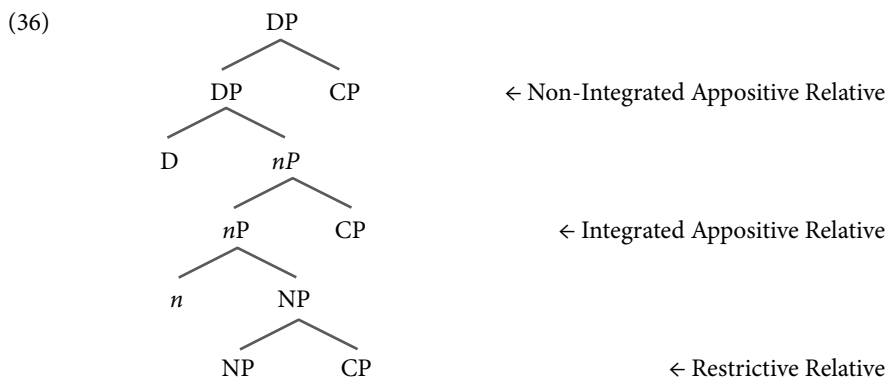
3.4. Against different attachment levels

Another possibility to explore involves different attachment levels for the two types of appositives. On this view, *both* integrated and non-integrated appositives involve the same fundamental structure (in that both are either adjuncts or specifiers, depending on one's assumptions about the status of adjunction in the grammar), but they differ in relative height. This follows a long line of research that reduces the differences between restrictive and appositive relative clauses to the height of attachment, and reflects the intuition that integrated appositive relatives share some properties with restrictive relatives and some with non-integrated appositive relatives. This idea is similar to what Wiltschko (2013) proposes in order to account for the properties of what she dubs *descriptive relatives* in an Austro-Bavarian dialect of German, an example of which is given in (35). Wiltschko, however, is explicit about *not* equating descriptive relative clauses with integrated appositive relatives.

- (35) Context: *The mailman who has been delivering mail in the neighborhood for the last 10 years has retired. Everyone knows this mailman. Maria and Resi have been living in this neighborhood. Maria tells Resi:*
 Woas-st eh, da Briaftröga, [wos bei uns austrogn hot], is jetzt in Pension.
 know-2SG PART _{DR} mailman COMP at us delivered has is now in retirement
 ‘You know, the mailman who delivered our mail is now retired.’

(Wiltschko 2013: 158)

If we were to apply a similar logic to the distinction between integrated and non-integrated appositive relatives, the result might be the following structure:



If the difference between different types of relative clauses lies in their relative height, the lack of relative clauses of a given type in a language could be attributed to the lack of the relevant level in this language.²⁷ On this account, a language with no DPs would be predicted to lack non-integrated appositive relatives. This prediction seems confirmed by Chinese, which has been claimed to be such a language (see, for example, Cheng and Sybesma (1999)).²⁸ It is hard to think what a language with no NPs would be like, which makes a reasonable prediction that restrictive relative clauses should be universally available. This also suggests that languages with no integrated appositive relatives would have to lack the intermediate projection that I referred to as *nP* below. If the *n* head is responsible for categorizing the root as nominal (as is standardly assumed in the Distributed Morphology framework, for example), the crosslinguistic variation with respect to the presence or absence of *nP* is quite unlikely.²⁹ Since it is not quite clear how the difference in attachment level might explain the

²⁷ It has also been claimed that Slavic languages lack DPs (Bošković 2005, 2009, 2012). In Citko (2010), I argued on independent grounds that Polish noun phrases are DPs (see also Rappaport (2001), Rutkowski (2002), Pereltsvaig (2007) and the references therein for arguments in favor of Slavic noun phrases being DPs).

²⁸ This is not an uncontroversial claim in Chinese linguistics. See, for example, Wu and Bodomo (2009) and the references therein, for arguments that Chinese noun phrases do indeed project a DP layer.

²⁹ However, crosslinguistic variation with respect to the availability of *some* DP internal projection could still be the case. And the idea that English DPs, unlike their Italian counterparts, might lack *some* layers inside DP seems plausible given the structure of DPs in the two languages and the independent evidence for more DP internal movements in Italian, as opposed to English or Polish (see Longobardi (1994, 2001), Bernstein (1993), among many others, for relevant discussion). One possibility would be to assume that heads of integrated and non-integrated appositive relative clauses occupy different positions. The evidence that proper names in Italian (which we know can be modified by integrated appositives) can occupy a lower position comes from the well-known fact that they can co-occur with overt determiners, as shown in (i).

(i) Il Gianni mi ha telefonato.
the Gianni called me up (Longobardi 1994: 622)

differences between integrated and non-integrated appositives we saw in Section 1 above (such as the fact that only the latter can have independent illocutionary force or modify non-DP antecedents), I will not pursue this type of account here.

3.5. Non-integration of appositive relatives as concatenation with no label

So far, we have established that Polish appositives are non-integrated. We have also examined a number of possible structures for non-integrated appositives. The question that still remains is what structure non-integrated appositive relatives involve. The proposal I would like to conclude with takes the ‘non-integrated’ property of non-integrated appositives quite literally. It builds on recent minimalist views on labels and labeling algorithms; in particular the idea that under certain very restricted circumstances, the result of the structure-building operation Merge can remain label-less (see Hornstein 2009 and Citko 2008c in particular). This is, I argue, what happens in non-integrated appositive relatives, and this is what forces the appositive CP to adjoin to the root, where it can be interpreted as an independent clause. This proposal is thus a variant of the Main Clause Hypothesis, where the appositive CP is also treated as either an independent clause or as being adjoined to the root. However, it derives the main clause character (and interpretation) of non-integrated appositives from independent labeling considerations. More specifically, I appeal to Hornstein’s (2009) idea that adjunction is concatenation without labeling. Hornstein proposes to divorce the operation responsible for building syntactic structures from the operation responsible for labeling the result (this is also the spirit of Chomsky’s (2013, 2014) labeling algorithm).³⁰

Since Polish does not have overt articles, the only way to test whether proper names can co-occur with determiners is to look at other types of D heads. Example (ii) below is only possible with a contrastive interpretation ‘This Peter, as opposed to some other Peter, called.’

- (ii) #Ten Piotr zadzwonił.
 this Peter called
 ‘This Peter called.’

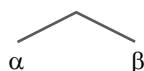
The interpretation is similarly restricted in the following examples, brought to my attention by an anonymous reviewer.

- (iii) Ten Kazimierz Wielki to miał gest!
 this Cassimir Great PART had gesture
 ‘This Cassimir the Great was very generous.’
 (iv) Ten twój Piotr to dopiero żartowniś!
 this your Piotr PART quite jokester
 ‘This Peter of yours is quite a jokester.’

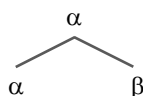
³⁰ I do not discuss here the issue of how exactly the label is determined (see Chomsky 2013, 2014, Cecchetto and Donati 2015, Citko 2008c, among others).

(37)

a. Concatenate



b. Label



Hornstein argues that adjuncts in general can involve just Concatenate (and no Labeling) and derives many properties of adjuncts from the fact that they are not labeled, such as the fact that adjuncts can (but don't have to) be stranded under VP ellipsis, as shown in (38a-e). The elided portion has to include the complement (hence the ungrammaticality of (38b)) but seems insensitive to adjuncts; these can either be included in the ellipsis site or not.

(38) John ate a cake in the yard with a fork and

a. Bill did (so), too.

b. *Bill did (so) an apple in the hall with a spoon.

c. Bill did (so) in the hall.

d. Bill did (so) with a spoon.

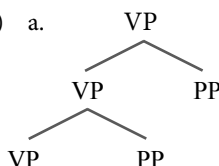
e. Bill did (so) in the hall with a spoon.

(Hornstein 2009: 84)

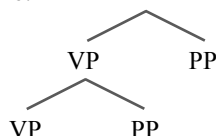
If adjuncts can (but do not have to) involve Concatenate only (with no Labeling), the structures in (39a-c) yield the ellipsis options in (38) above. In (39a), both PP adjuncts are fully integrated (which is the source of ellipsis in (38a)); in (39b) only the lower one is (which gives rise to either (39b) or (39c), depending on the ordering of the two adjuncts), and in (39c) neither adjunct is (which means both will be stranded when ellipsis applies).

(39)

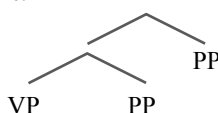
a.



b.



c.



This relies on the assumption that only labeled constituents can be targeted by syntactic operations and that ellipsis cannot apply to unlabeled constituents in (39b-c). The idea that syntactic objects can be merged with other objects with the result not necessarily being labeled (thus not being fully integrated into the structure) opens up the possibility that non-integrated appositives are 'truly' non-integrated and involve simple concatenation with no labeling, and what distinguishes them from integrated appositives is the presence or absence of the label, as shown in (40a-b), respectively. Integrated appositives are the result of Concatenate + Label, and non-integrated appositives are the result of Concatenate only.³¹

³¹ This possibility is alluded to by Griffiths and De Vries (2013) for appositives in general but ultimately dismissed by them. They also do not link movement of the CP to the lack of the label; this connection is important in my account, as we will see shortly.

- (40) a. integrated appositives b. non-integrated appositives
- ```

graph TD
 DP1[DP] --- DP2[DP]
 DP1 --- CP[CP]

```

```

graph TD
 Root[] --- DP[DP]
 Root --- CP[CP]

```

The question now is how the unlabeled object in (40b) is further integrated into the structure. If the appositive relative is a direct object, for example, the verb selects a DP. This suggests the structure in (41a), not (41b).

- (41)   a.                      b.
- ```

graph TD
    VP[VP] --- V[V]
    VP --- DP1[DP]
    DP1 --- DP2[DP]
    DP1 --- CP[CP]

```

```

graph TD
    VP[VP] --- V[V]
    VP --- Node[ ]
    Node --- DP[DP]
    Node --- CP[CP]

```

If nothing else happens, the multidominant multi-rooted label-less structure in (41a) is quite problematic; it is not clear how to linearize or interpret it, for example. While multidominant structures are in principle allowed (see Citko 2011 and the references therein for a detailed investigation of such structures), they are quite restricted; the two roots are typically further integrated into the structure (as two conjuncts of a coordinate structure, for example). Furthermore, the problem with (41a) is not only the multi-rootedness; it is also the lack of a label for one of the roots. In Citko (2008c), I argued that unlabeled constituents are only possible at the root where the issue of embedding/further integration into the structure does not arise. What I would like to suggest here is that the lack of a label is what forces the non-integrated CP in (41a) to raise and adjoin to the root, as schematized below for an object relative clause. The appositive CP starts out as a DP adjunct but due to the way it is merged (Concatenate without Labeling, which yields a multi-rooted unlabeled structure), it has to move and adjoin to the root CP.

- (42)
- ```

graph TD
 CP1[CP] --- C[C]
 CP1 --- TP[TP]
 TP --- T[T]
 TP --- vP[vP]
 vP --- v[v]
 vP --- VP1[VP]
 VP1 --- V[V]
 VP1 --- DP[DP]
 VP1 --- CP2[CP]

```

→

```

graph TD
 CP3[CP] --- C[C]
 CP3 --- TP[TP]
 TP --- T[T]
 TP --- vP[vP]
 vP --- v[v]
 vP --- VP2[VP]
 VP2 --- V[V]
 VP2 --- DP[DP]
 CP3 --- CP4[CP]

```

With respect to the question of crosslinguistic variation in the availability of non-integrated appositives crosslinguistically, I follow Del Gobbo (2003, 2007, 2010), who argues that only certain types of CPs, namely those headed by *wh*-pronouns that can function as E-type pronouns (which allows them

to be referential), are capable of heading appositive relatives.<sup>32</sup> CPs headed by such pronouns are the only ones that can be interpreted as essentially independent clauses, as shown by the near equivalence between the following two sentences:<sup>33</sup>

- (43) a. Maria, who is my friend, just left.  
       b. Maria just left. She is my best friend.

Del Gobbo also argues explicitly that the movement of the CP is what distinguishes integrated from non-integrated appositives (the idea that has been proposed for appositives in general, by Demirdache (1991) most explicitly), and proposes that if a language lacks relative pronouns of the requisite kind, it will lack non-integrated relatives. Integrated relatives, on the other hand, cannot involve the derivation in (42) due to the fact that their relative pronouns are not E-type pronouns. In my account, this difference follows from how the CP is introduced into the structure; the lack of a label forces the CP to move but the E-type nature of the relative pronoun allows it to happen. Many of the properties of non-integrated appositive relatives discussed in Section 1 can be attributed to the high position of the appositive CP after this movement, as has been pointed out by the proponents of the Main Clause Hypothesis for appositives in general. For example, complementizers are impossible because complementizers cannot function as E-type pronouns. Mismatches in illocutionary force follow from the fact the two CPs in (42) are interpreted as two independent clauses with potentially independent force. Since the appositive CP is interpreted as an independent clause, there is no expectation that it should only be able to modify DP heads.

## 4. Conclusion

To conclude briefly, I have added empirical evidence to support Cinque's (2008) distinction between integrated and non-integrated appositive relative clauses, by showing that Polish appositives are non-integrated. I have also critically examined the structure that Cinque assigns to such appositives, pointing out some problems with assimilating non-integrated appositives to coordinate structures or to parenthetical expressions, or deriving the difference from different DP internal attachment levels. I concluded by suggesting that

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<sup>32</sup> The question of what might rule out integrated appositives in a given language is more complex. Let me nevertheless offer a speculation. Arguably, the structure in (40b) is simpler than the one in (40a), so if a language has the right kind of relative pronouns in its inventory, the structure in (40b) is preferred.

<sup>33</sup> See also Demirdache (1991) and Sells (1985) for a proposal that relative pronouns are E-type pronouns.

the relevant difference between integrated and non-integrated appositives lies in how non-integrated appositives are integrated into the structure (with a label or without one), thus deriving the need for non-integrated appositive CP to adjoin to the main root (where it can remain unlabeled).

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